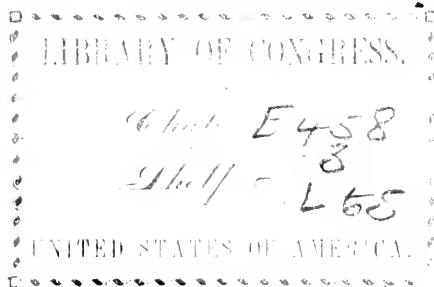


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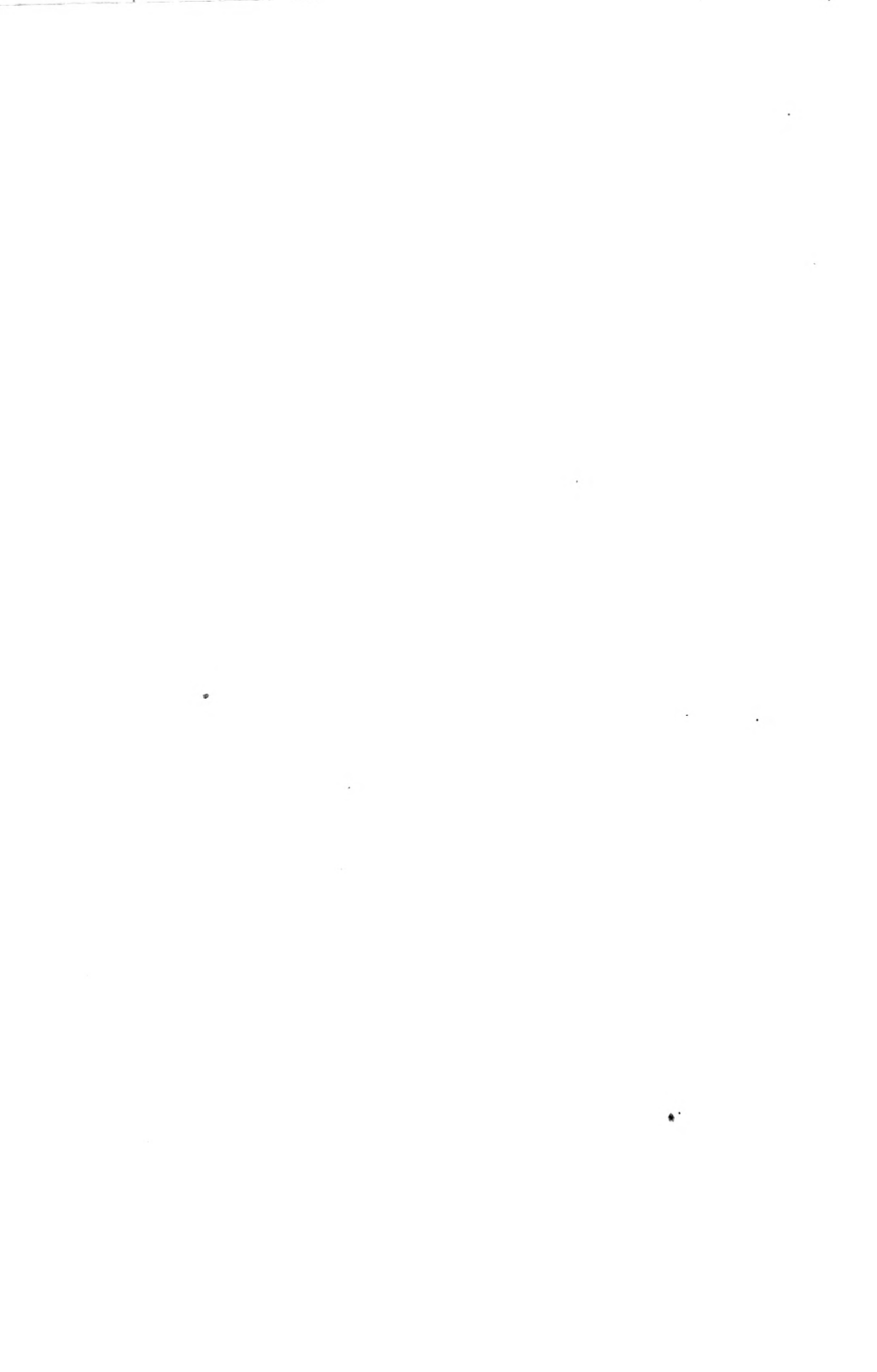
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.









# A LETTER

TO AN

ENGLISH FRIEND ON THE AMERICAN WAR.



NEW YORK:  
ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH,  
No. 683 BROADWAY  
1863.

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WARD O. LSKIN.  
Printer,  
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## A LETTER.

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NEW YORK, JULY, 1863.

SIR — — —, K. C. B.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—

. . . . You think that our government cannot put down the rebellion; and that even if it could, it would be rendering a questionable service to the world, as the American people would then soon become too powerful for the safety of other nations. On both these grounds, you wish to see the war brought to an end by the acknowledgment of the Confederacy as an independent nation.

I will not discuss your second reason at any length. You do not doubt that the more powerful any nation should become the better for the world it would be, provided its councils were guided by justice and enlightened views of policy. Without and with such guidance, then, let us see how this country would stand towards foreign nations. Without justice and integrity, both among its citizens generally and in its councils, this Republic could not last long, but must soon be self-destroyed. This is an axiom in the judgment of our best men. If thus self-destroyed—a prey to internal dissension, disorder, and violence—this country would be a beacon to teach other nations the supreme importance of private and public virtue. But let the principles of our holy religion be in the ascendant, and our country would be the means only of good to the world, sharing with the people of other lands the pursuits of commerce and science and the blessings of Christianity. On either supposition, this country would not be an object of fear. But if there is danger to be apprehended, it must spring from the division and not from the union of these states. Once divided, if it were possible for two nations to exist in this land, large standing armies

would be kept up by both, occasions of misunderstanding with foreign powers would be doubled, and wars with them would be of frequent occurrence.

Turning now to the main thing—whether the rebellion can be put down depends on whether it ought to be put down. Christian nations, like Great Britain and the United States, may be taken to have reached such a condition of moral advancement that what is right in their great questions will in the end win the day. What is wrong in these countries must sooner or later go to the wall. I need not stop to prove this.

Now do not think that I am going to inflict on you an extended discussion of the question, when I ask, Is the rebellion right? To show that it is not right, I need but recall your attention to a few salient points of the case, as between the government and the rebellion, or as between the nation and the rebels. However familiar these points may be to intelligent men on this side of the Atlantic, we cannot expect our European friends to be thoroughly acquainted with them.

Singling out a few topics from the crowd, I will ask you first to consider, on what ground and for what reasons any people are justifiable in rising up against the government that is over them. Intolerable oppression is a sufficient cause of revolution, but in this country nothing of this kind has existed. Principles adopted by the rulers of a people, which would reduce them to bondage, would justify armed resistance to the government if there were no other redress; so our fathers judged when they resisted the British crown in the attempt to impose taxation without granting representation; but under our constitution, nothing of this kind has occurred or could take place. On the other hand, it is a Christian duty to render obedience to the powers that be, which are ordained of God, in the administration of all authority which does not contravene his holy will. “The powers that be,” in our case, certainly include the general, national, or federal government, which for so long a period has been recognized at home and abroad as a lawful government. I know the ready answer of many to this statement, that it begs the question as to which

government, national or state, the allegiance of the citizen is due. I shall revert to this matter hereafter. At present it is sufficient to say, that, *de facto*, the federal government was in the regular exercise of its authority in all parts of the country, and had long wielded this authority, unopposed, unchallenged. Nearly three generations of men had lived in peace under this government. It was clearly therefore a government such as the apostle contemplated when he spoke of "the powers that be." And on the broad ground of the divine commandment, I do not hesitate to claim your condemnation of this war as a wrong thing. In itself, apart from its painful circumstances, in its first conception and its first outbreak, it is in violation of our highest rule of duty. We were at peace amongst ourselves, and had been for eighty years. We are now at war, simply because our reckless fellow-citizens did not fulfill their Christian duty to the lawful government of the country. But I do not wish here to discuss a religious question, and I proceed to other views.

Look, then, at the public beginning of this war. I refer not now to the secret history of previous years. We have been told, indeed, that the war was begun by the Northern States years ago, but this is simply not true. It is well known that the policy of the government was controlled by Southern influence for many years, and no act of the government can be cited which was unfriendly to the slaveholding States. Nor is it true that the legislation of the Free States, as States, was generally hostile to the interests of the Slave States. Some of them had enacted laws to neutralize what were considered the odious features of the Fugitive Slave Law of Congress, and especially to secure the right of a trial before a jury for a colored man who might be claimed as a fugitive slave; yet these laws were either repealed by the States themselves, or else set aside by the decision of the Supreme Court. The people of the Free States were indeed unwilling that slavery should be introduced into the national territories, but they opposed this in a lawful way. They were willing that slaveholders should take all the property into the territories,

that they could take themselves. Moreover, it was a barren question, so far as the Slave States were concerned, for they had no slaves to spare for the territories; and if they had, hardly any part of the territories was adapted to slave labour.

But I need not refer to these old discussions, nor to others on kindred topics. They were discussions. They were not war, surely. I pass them by, and come to the public beginning of this dreadful conflict. You know who first took up the sword, and the fatal events that at once followed the attack on Fort Sumter. Fix your attention on that commencement of the war; and then, to see that it was all wrong, call to mind the fact, that all peaceful measures had not been tried in vain, and some had not been tried at all, before the leaders of the rebellion resorted to the argument of military force.

They might have kept their place in the Union, and trusted to discussion and the ballot, feeling sure that if right were on their side they would in the end regain the ascendancy in our national councils. Or they might have proposed Amendments to the Constitution, in order to secure greater protection to their peculiar interests, and in this way have obtained a peaceful settlement of agitating questions; there can hardly be a doubt that such amendments would have been made in order to satisfy the claims of the Slave States. It is indeed known now that great concessions were offered to their representatives in the Peace Convention at Washington, in February, 1861, but they were rejected by the ultraist members from the Southern States.

If they considered it impossible, however, to abide longer by the regular movement of our forms of government, as a last resort before proceeding to war, they might have asked for the extra-constitutional measure of a Convention of all the States. This would have been a revolutionary measure, but not one that would have resulted necessarily in acts of violence and bloodshed; the revolution might even have been a peaceful one—a thing no longer possible after the attack on Fort Sumter. After that, the government had to stand for its

existence, war could no longer be delayed; but prior to this fatal proceeding a convention might have been called. If it had been refused, a declaration of whatever was regarded as grievances could have been formally issued, before separation was begun by means of war. The rebels, as we must now call them, could in this way have delivered themselves, in some degree at least, from the awful guilt of plunging a people all in the midst of peace into the horrors of civil war.

On a popular Southern theory of our government, that which regards each State as unqualifiedly sovereign, a convention of this kind might have been called. This theory I do not hold, but believe it to be altogether erroneous. There can be but one sovereignty in a nation, and for eighty years that has been recognized in a great variety of ways as existing in the general government. Every oath of office, taken in any part of the country, even in South Carolina itself, in legislative or judicial stations, recognized the sovereignty of the United States. All foreign powers recognized it, and never acknowledged the sovereignty of any particular State. This high sovereignty passed from the crown of Great Britain to the American nation,—at first, to the Confederation; then, to the Union; but in no case to a State separately considered. The Constitution is now our crown, to which our allegiance is to be given, as embodying the will of the nation. This Constitution was adopted, not by the States as such, but by the people—as its terms expressly declare. Their suffrages were taken in each State separately, for the sake of convenience, but they were the suffrages of the citizens of the United States, who voted directly on the question of adopting this charter of our national government. It is conceded on all hands that the Constitution thus adopted relates, not to everything under the sun, but to the subjects contained in itself, and as to these it is supreme. As to these, it is a general or common government, and the preserving of the union of these States is surely one of its highest objects.

It is deeply to be deplored that this view of our National government as sovereign, and therefore entitled to the

highest allegiance of all citizens, has been rejected by so many of our countrymen in the Southern States. Many of them are undoubtedly sincere in their belief that the sovereignty of each State is supreme, and that their allegiance is therefore due to the State, and not to the United States. Allowance must be made for their mistake in this respect, a mistake which can be explained without impugning the integrity of many who have fallen into it; but a mistake it is, nevertheless, as both the history of the country and the terms of the Constitution plainly show. This war will not have been in vain if it result in the perpetual subversion of the doctrine of unqualified State sovereignty. It is a doctrine which would be always tending to break up the nation into fragments, and to embroil these fragments in never-ending conflicts with each other. It is quite safe to predict that if the States in revolt gain their independence, they will soon have reason to deplore the pernicious consequences of this dogma. It will bring on endless collisions between petty sovereignties; these will go on to anarchy; and then will follow a military despotism, fell and relentless. State *rights* we all hold, but unqualified State *sovereignty* is another thing. There is no safety for us in this land, as citizens of a constitutional government, but in the union of these States and in the sovereignty of this Union.

I am quite willing, however, for the moment, to waive all this—all reference to the doctrine of State sovereignty. I leave out of view, also, the almost sole grievance alleged—the denial of the right of slaveholders to take their slaves into the national territories. For the point at present before us, these things need not be considered. On any theory concerning them, peaceful measures might have been longer tried before resorting to “the last argument.” And if the measures already indicated had been tested, the war would assuredly have been averted. In its very beginning, therefore, the rebellion was all wrong. It stained itself needlessly with blood. A Christian people ought to be “slow to wrath.” A republican people ought to have faith in free discussion

and the ballot. Any people ought to try every possible good method of gaining their ends before resorting to military weapons. I make a great deal of this. If anything is plain it is that a Christian people ought not to begin war with their brethren in this abrupt and hasty way. Civil war is a thing too awful to be undertaken, except under the pressure of the sternest necessity. And then it should be with fastings, prayers, and tears. I need not remind you how the Confederates acted, with what astonishing haste they attacked the government, with what neglect of peaceful measures then within their reach. Was not such a beginning of this war all wrong?

Passing from this, let us now consider the main cause of this war. In my view this cause is slavery. It is my belief that the rebellion was begun for the sake of slavery.

I know that this is denied. We have been told that "the North is fighting for empire, and the South for independence"—high-flown words! And words without truth, so far as the North is concerned. We have also been told that questions of tariffs and free trade have had much to do with the war; but it is well known that the Southern States, especially in the cotton-producing regions, were enjoying great material prosperity. The favorite Southern Review paraded columns of statistics to prove that, man for man, the people of the Slave-growing States were rapidly growing more wealthy than those of the Free States. Both of these alleged causes of the war are of Trans-Atlantic origin. Here at home, we are told that this war was caused by "the Abolitionists," especially of New England. Of this I shall have something to say, further on. But whatever weight may be given to other causes, the one great cause is slavery. The practical working of this system, for a period of eighty years under our government, has issued at length in this volcanic explosion. To see this clearly, we need but look at a brief statement of the *rationale* of the whole subject.

Under our slaveholding system in the Southern States, a class of men has been created who differ greatly in some

respects from most of our countrymen. This class has long had control of the Slave States. Though few in number, the people of this class hold the larger share of the property, real and personal, in these States, and they possess a large part of the higher intelligence and culture of the Southern people. As a class these slaveholders socially and politically are the men of power, wielding directly or indirectly nearly all legislative, judicial, and executive authority in the State and county governments. All who constitute this class do not make more than a few hundred thousand in the twelve millions of the Southern population. Besides them are the colored people, who are mostly slaves, and the non-slaveholding white people. The latter far outnumber their slaveholding fellow citizens, and include many persons of high intelligence and worth, especially in the Border States, and, indeed, in all parts of the South; but it is unhappily true that a large part of the non-slaveholding white people belongs to the class of "poor whites," especially in the cotton-growing regions. These are to a great extent destitute of political influence, and in too many instances their dependence and their ignorance fit them to be the ready agents of their slaveholding neighbours. Amongst the governing class are found many persons of great excellence of character, some of whom I have been happy to call my friends; many of them sigh and groan under the bondage imposed by slavery on their own race, hardly less than they deplore the condition of the coloured people; but they have not been able to see any practicable way of terminating this double bondage. Besides these, who are virtually anti-slavery slaveholders, and whose numbers are only too few, there are many persons in this class who are imperious, ambitious, and reckless men, such as are hardly to be found elsewhere in the world. The base of their position is a narrow one. It is simply the bondage of the negro coupled with the monopoly of cotton. Take away the bondage of the negro, and the members of this class would in a single generation become homogeneous with Northern or European society. Or take away the monopoly of cotton,



and they would soon become as earnest advocates of freedom to the slave as were their fathers in 1789. Their class-existence is a great anomaly in a republic, creating obvious difficulties in the way of administering our form of government, or indeed any form of government based on principles of regulated liberty.

This brief analysis of the structure of Southern society shows how the rebellion was possible, and it also shows its cause. The property for the most part, and the political power, were in the hands of slaveholders, especially in the states in which the rebellion began. Finding or fearing that they could no longer control the councils of the general government, they resolved on separation at any cost.

Many of their number, it should be conceded, were opposed to disunion. Some of them regarded separation from the Union as the worst remedy of any grievances, and as the greatest danger of their peculiar "institution." Others, especially in the Border States, thoroughly loyal and patriotic men, we may consider as emancipated from the narrow but ardent policy of their class, and able to take a correct view of their duties as American citizens. Many amongst the slaveholders must be deeply convinced that the doctrine of unqualified State sovereignty is a very Pandora's box of evils. Many of them must deplore the fearful method that was taken to adjust matters with their fellow-citizens of the Free States. Many of them are connected with their northern countrymen by social and marital relationships, and by pecuniary interests. From these various subdivisions of the prevailing class, and from the ranks of intelligent and influential non-slaveholders, we may hope to see hosts of union and loyal men yet rallying around the beautiful flag of our country. All is not dark in the southern sky.

But as events have been shaped in the past by unscrupulous political leaders, it is easy to understand how slavery—the common interests and the common sympathies engendered by slaveholding—under the stimulus of excited appeals to the passions at once of fear and of ambition, became the cause of

the rebellion. Mr. Alexander Stephens, the spokesman of his class, and the Vice-President of the Confederacy, was not far astray when he proclaimed slavery to be the corner-stone of the new empire. From the predominant influence of slaveholders in the South, we see how it was that Mr. Stephens should have publicly, almost officially, avowed this awful dogma.

One thing more, however, was wanting to the success of the attempt to create rebellion, and that was a plausible pretext with which the honest masses of southern citizens could be misled. This pretext was unhappily furnished by the ultra-abolitionists in our Northern States. This phase of the subject must not be ignored. Varied material interests, conflicting theories of political rights, differing views of duty in regard to the support of the powers that be, have marked the course of events in the Rebel States, but underlying all these was an exasperated feeling towards "the abolitionists," which it must be acknowledged was only too well founded. For many years certain writers and speakers have poured a bitter stream of denunciation on all slaveholders, and indeed on all, whether living in the North or South, who would not join them in their project of instant emancipation without regard to consequences. These were "the abolitionists," technically so called—persons who were ready to break up the Union, and even the Church itself, if their one idea were not adopted. They failed altogether to command the confidence of the great body of our Northern people, but they succeeded in leading many of our Southern people to believe that "the North was all abolitionized," and in giving unscrupulous men at the South a pretext for agitation in favour of disunion. It was too easy for these men to transmute the opposition to the abolitionists into opposition to antislavery men, who constitute the great mass of northern people; the next and fatal step was then also easy to take, that of arraying this opposition against the government itself, on the election of an unwelcome president. But after all, this apparently well-founded apprehension of the abolitionists could have but little weight

with well-informed men in the South. They certainly ought to have known the true state of feeling on this subject in the non-slaveholding States; and but for the ardent class feeling fostered by the peculiar state of society in the slave States, it would have been simply impossible to elevate such a pretext into a sufficient reason for rebellion. No greater proof of the intensity of this class feeling could be cited than the formal manifesto adopted by the Convention of the State of South Carolina, to set forth the reasons for secession. These reasons all hinge on a single idea, *the protection of slavery*. This was supposed to be endangered, although the South Carolinians had not lost a score of slaves in thirty years by reason of the abolitionists.

I need not dwell longer on this statement of the cause of the rebellion. It were easy to confirm these views by proofs drawn from our recent history; indeed, our history can not be understood by a foreigner without some such clue to its tangled course as I have now given you. And I may now ask, Can dispassionate men in other countries regard a rebellion for the sake of slavery as in itself right? Is it right to break up a good government, and to overwhelm a peaceful people in the deluge of civil war, in order to protect and perpetuate the bondage of our fellow-men? Is it right to countenance the establishment of a great Pro-Slavery Power? Suppose this war to result in the independence of the rebel states, the Confederacy an acknowledged nation, slaveholding still one of its honored institutions, with all its breaking up of families and other enormous evils; in a word, suppose a powerful despotism, based on human bondage, is to be the end of this rebellion, would you regard this result as right?

I do not wish you to understand, however, that our government is waging a war for the destruction of slavery. It is waging this war for the defence of its own existence. This is assailed by rebel forces in the interest and at the instigation of slavery. The war, on our part, is for union, and against secession; or, rather, for government, and against anarchy. Anarchy, we are firmly convinced, would soon follow in the

train of secession. On our theory of government, secession ends inevitably in the overthrow of common order. If the majority, acting within the limits of the Constitution, may not rule; if the minority may secede when they fail to carry an election, then there is simply no hope of preserving the Republic; and, in this country, there is then no hope of having any stable government whatever. An unscrupulous mayor of this city endeavored, two years ago, to lead New York in the footsteps of South Carolina. He proposed that this city should secede! Other cities, counties, and states might each or all secede, if this dogma of secession is to be recognized, and the result would soon be anarchy. Do not wonder that all right-minded Republicans look with horror on this new method of settling political discussions. And do not fail to consider that we hold this war on our part to be primarily a defensive war. It was forced upon us, and we are waging it in defence of the country, of common order, of civilization itself; all of which are put in peril by the false principle wrapped up in the idea of secession.

But while our Government is not waging an anti-slavery war, the war itself sweeps the whole subject of slavery into its wake, and the end will very probably be a great change in the condition of slavery—perhaps its entire overthrow. This is not likely to result, however, from any summary process. The President's proclamation on the subject has been both lauded and denounced; but its friends and foes have been alike disappointed. It can be enforced only *puri passu* with the advance of our armies, and their advance would have led to the virtual overthrow of slavery within their lines, even if there had been no proclamation. Thus multitudes of slaves would have become free, and could never be reduced again to bondage. Freedom must follow the flag of the Union in such a conflict as this.

In the end, the rebellion will be put down, the authority of the Government will be re-established, and the question will arise, What is to be done with the slaves who have not been set free by military force, if any such remain? Will not

State laws resume their sway over them? Will not slavery itself be re-established with the restoration of the Union? According to the usual working of our form of government, this result would be inevitable. The General Government has nothing to do with slavery in the States, though in the District of Columbia, the national forts, and the national territories its authority over slavery cannot be doubted. The President's proclamation of freedom was issued by him as commander-in-chief of the army, simply as a war measure, a measure of great force, but one that he might recall, or his successor might recall it; and, at any rate, it is a measure without any but moral force beyond the lines of the army, and it is one which must terminate with the war itself. If the war should go on for some years, this measure will probably result practically in setting the slaves all free. If a State now in rebellion, on the other hand, should rescind her ordinance of secession and return to the Union, it would not, indeed, remand the freed slaves to bondage, but slavery itself would continue in her limits as heretofore; with the great exception, however, that it would henceforth be subject to powerful modifying influences, all tending to the complete emancipation of the slaves.

I believe that both religious and material influences will hereafter unite in turning the minds of men, in all sections of the country, to the importance of removing slavery as the great cause of our trouble. On the former class of these considerations I do not enter, except to express my belief that doing unto others as we would that they should do unto us is the only law that can properly adjust the relations of the white and colored races; and this law, I am sure, must lead to the destruction of slavery. Material interests will lend their aid in effecting this result. Supplies of cotton will be obtained elsewhere than in our Southern States. Their monopoly of this article has had much to do with the rebellion—with its purpose and plan, its determined attitude, and the sympathy for it abroad. But the war is fatal to this monopoly. Whatever the issue of the war may be, the price of

cotton in this country must, for many years, be greatly increased. It must bear a heavy *export* duty henceforth, to aid in defraying the interest of the vast war debt, a duty imposed by the Government when the rebellion is put down, or by the Confederacy, if the rebellion is successful. This higher price will go far to turn the scale in favor of cotton from India and other countries. The diversion of capital into other channels will tend to the same result. The adaptation of machinery to the manufacture of cotton of short fibre, the greater use of flax and wool for clothing, the substitution of Chinese labourers for African slaves, or of free African labour for the labour of bondage, would all tend to free the world from its dependence on slave-grown cotton, and equally to overthrow slavery itself. This result I believe to be inevitable. I could wish to see it effected gradually, to see such great social and industrial changes effected peacefully, to see the burden of southern loss in the emancipation of slaves lightened by national liberality; but this rebellion may change all this, and it may be the will of God that slavery should perish in the bloody waves of the war it has begun. Many questions of great importance and perplexity will then have to be settled, requiring the highest degree of wisdom on the part of our public men.

Such are the relations of the country and of the war to slavery. The friends of good order and of human progress, therefore, see before them two opposite things: on the one hand, an attempt to establish by rebellion an avowedly pro-slavery confederacy; on the other, the lawful government of the country, restored to its ancient anti-slavery policy, the policy of Washington and of Jefferson, conducting a war of self-defence. Need I ask which ought to succeed?

If I misjudge not, these views clearly establish the main thing in the case. They show which side is right and which is wrong in this most unhappy conflict. Right is surely on the side of the nation. And hence, sooner or later, the rebellion will be overthrown. In our country, as in yours, right will triumph in the end. Believing this to be a correct statement

of the moral question involved, I will only add, before leaving it, that it shows, first, why all right-minded men in this country should stand up for the government; second, a strong reason why foreign nations should withhold their sympathy from our misguided countrymen in the South; and, third, one of the main reasons which will bring to pass the eventual reunion of these states. It is only on the last of these topics that I will make a brief remark.

There are in this country multitudes of intelligent, conscientious people, both in the South and in the North. Far too many of these have long abandoned the care of public affairs to the politicians of the day. It has been a woful mistake. But these men must more and more look into the questions now undergoing the fierce argument of war. And they will, in the end, form a right judgment concerning them. They are now, alas, far too many of them, upholders of the rebellion. No man doubted the honesty of the late "Stonewall" Jackson, and multitudes like him in their religious character are still in the ranks of the rebellion. Few of these men would now embark in such a conflict. Many of them enlisted in it against their better judgment, and many of them under most erroneous impressions and under expectations which they have already found to be delusive. These are minor things; the main thing is that these good men will, in the end, see that they have done wrong. This conviction, in the case of such men, will be followed by an honest effort to regain the true ground of loyalty and union. They are men who can acknowledge their errors. I believe they will, sooner or later. They will see and say, This rebellion was not merely a political blunder, but it was all wrong. And then the conflict will shortly come to an end; or, if already ended, so far as military proceedings are concerned, the work of reconstruction and reunion will go on apace; their influence will be controlling, to a large degree. Let it not be said that this is to expect in the passions of war what was not found in the days of peace. True; but war is a great teacher, and I am now referring to men who will learn righteousness when

judgments are in the earth. Neither let it be said that this is mere Northern Phariseeism; nay, though men of this same class in the Northern States have been kept from lifting their hands against the government that God ordained over them, yet they have their errors to confess; and they will learn, in the school of deep affliction, the great lesson of forbearance toward their Southern fellow-citizens, and of sympathy with them as fellow-sufferers.

These good men can make their influence felt in ending this war; and they must do this on the ground of right. They must also take such an active part hereafter in the conduct of public affairs, as will make it impossible for corrupt men to climb into stations of honor and emolument,—such a part as will make a Roman Catholic prelate hesitate to address a crowd of foreigners, “men who are called rioters,” without uttering any condemnation of their crimes of murder and arson. In this respect the schooling of war may be a national blessing. I must not dwell on this topic, but my heart glows with hope when I remember how many hundreds of thousands, and even millions, of such intelligent and conscientious people there are in our country, and when I feel persuaded that they will yet wield their great influence together for the common good.

But in the meanwhile?

Yes, you say most truly, This war is a dreadful thing. Its losses, sufferings, destruction, and death are awful things—can they not be ended? And you ask, Can you suggest nothing at all for their termination? Would to God these terrible evils were indeed at an end! It is most lamentable to see the evils of war in so many distressing forms all around us, but after long and earnest reflection I can see only one way in which they can be brought to an end, and that is by the dispersion of the military force of the rebels and the re-establishment of the authority of the Government. But let me invoke your help, my dear friend, by supposing a case near your own home that would be in some respects parallel to ours, and by asking what you would then do yourself.



We have the South and Slavery. You have Ireland and Romanism. The Romanist priests correspond closely to our slaveholders in one respect, in their power over the ignorant masses of their people. They also have an intense dislike of the government of their country. Now suppose Ireland to be in rebellion,—southern Ireland. Ostensibly it is for deliverance from English oppression,—for independence; “too long has Ireland borne the hated yoke of the Saxon;” but really it is a rebellion in the interest of Romanism, and it enjoys the sympathies of bigotted Romanists in other lands, even as our southern aristocrats are honored in certain European circles of society. The Irish rebellion is countenanced by priests and bishops, and it enrolls the ignorant masses in its ranks, led by ambitious leaders after the type of O’Connell, like our “poor white trash” in the South, who are followers of Jefferson Davis. It is a rebellion without adequate cause; it strikes deadly blows against the Queen’s good government, and yet it demands to be let alone! All it wants is separation from England, and independence—that is all! And it wants this for no other earthly reason than because the spirit of Romanism is hostile to the enlightened policy of the British nation. In this case what would you do? Would you counsel the Queen to let Ireland go? Would you come to terms with the bishops at the head of their armies? Would you yield up to destruction the property, and to death or banishment the persons, of loyal people in Ireland? Could you thus counsel your Sovereign? Never! You would call forth the military power of the kingdom to put down the rebellion. You would not put money or life in the scale against the integrity of the nation. Your public men would not express their sympathy with the rebels, nor your *Times* sneer at the efforts made to put them down. Your religious newspapers would not feel “unable to see anything to be gained by such a conflict,” nor would they look on both parties as “equally to be pitied,” or perchance to be rebuked with a self-righteous severity. The common voice of England and Scotland, and of all that was loyal in Ireland, would require the rebellion to be put down at any and at every cost.

You would not wage the war against the Roman Catholic religion, however, though you might feel assured that it was at the bottom of all the trouble, the real cause of all the calamities. You would not destroy the Romanist churches, nor overthrow by military force the superstitious ideas of the bigotted people; but you would at the same time rejoice that the war against the rebellion tended greatly to weaken the attachment of the Irish people to a religion that brings upon them such evils, and destroys in their hearts the feeling of loyalty to your admirable Queen. In honest truth, you would do very much what we are trying to do. You would stand for your Queen and country.

And yet, you might counsel her majesty to let the Irish go, to recognize the kingdom of Ireland, with almost infinitely less of sacrifice and of the risk of terrible evils, than we should suffer in consenting to a Southern Confederacy. Ireland lies across an arm of the sea from England; you *could* be separated. But there cannot be two governments in this land. We must be one nation, whether its policy be anti-slavery or pro-slavery. No peace between the Union and the Confederacy could stand long. It would be but an armed truce, to be maintained by a large military force and fortifications without number, on both sides of a geographical line 3,600 miles in length. It would be a truce incurring hourly risk of ending in bloodshed. Fugitive slaves would cross over the line, be reclaimed, and not be returned, though followed by armed troops, to be repelled by troops more numerous. Unlawful commerce, resulting from different tariffs, would require custom stations at every mile, giving rise to numberless angry collisions. The great rivers, rising in the north, reaching the sea in the south, freighted even now with the commerce of more white people than can be found in all the rebel states, forbid the separation of the north and the south; so do the chains of our mountains, running as they do from the north to the south. The examples cited in reply to this, from different nations dwelling on the Rhine and the Danube, are of little force. The element of slavery is not found among

them. The extent of their territory is not very large. Other points of difference will be apparent to one who considers what goes to constitute a nation. And at any rate it is best for people living on a common great river to be under one government, provided, only, they are of a common stock, of the same language and the same religion. The Creator of this broad land has shown his will, we may reverently believe, that its inhabitants should be under one government.

Deeply do I feel the impossibility of our having any long continued peace between two governments occupying this one territory, especially when so related as would be a proslavery and an anti-slavery power. If it had been considered at all practicable to avoid perpetual trouble, outbreaks, scenes of violence, followed by war on the borders, and ending in war in all the land, I in common with thousands of our northern people would have almost welcomed separation from our misguided southern fellow-citizens, yes, almost on any terms, long before the attack on Sumter. Lovers of peace, having a perfect horror of war, though like the true mother we could not have willingly consented to see our beloved country divided in twain, yet we might nevertheless have yielded almost everything for the sake of peace, if there only could have been continued peace. Alas, there was to be no peace for us! This war has come. There can be no peace while the rebellion lasts. We must go on in this dreadful conflict, so far as I can forecast the future, even as you would go on in an Irish rebellion, until the authority of the government is once more established.

I do not despair of the Republic. I never did. The prospects of the rebellion are now heavily overcast. Its territory is reduced by the loss of Maryland, Western Virginia, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and portions of other States, so that it is hardly one-half as extensive as it was a year ago; and the reduction in its resources of men and military supplies is even greater. It has lost the command of the Mississippi. It has lost prestige. It is becoming demoralized. Singular as it may appear, its strength is outside of itself—in

the lingering sympathy of its northern friends and its hopes of European intervention. But its northern sympathisers are diminishing in number, though the virulence of their leaders may be increasing. The honest masses of the Democratic party are as loyal as any of our citizens. A few of their political leaders are no doubt disloyal men, but they would quickly be displaced if they should show in clear colours their treasonable purposes. Besides, they meet with no encouragement even from the rebels; for they, with a steadfastness worthy of a better cause, refuse to listen to any terms of reconciliation, except on the basis of southern independence—a basis that will never be acknowledged.

As to European intervention in aid of the rebellion, you ought to be well informed concerning the probability of such assistance. It is astonishing to me that it should be seriously thought of. I think your government understands the case too well, to commit folly so great and a crime so deep as to array itself on the side of the rebels. I deplore greatly the sufferings of your countrymen in Lancashire and other places, and of the workmen in so many French factories. It seems to be the will of God that all connected with our slave-grown cotton, at home and abroad, should be brought into distress. Intervention, however, would but increase this distress. It would at once result in war. The ocean would soon be covered with privateers. Burning the captured ships after plundering them would be the rule, following the unprohibited Confederate example. The freighting of our commerce in our own ships has been nearly destroyed by half-a-dozen of *Alabama* and *Florida*. Judge of the disastrous results to your commerce, when hundreds of similar privateers are let loose upon it. War between your country and mine would be the greatest calamity in other respects to both nations and to the world. It would tend rapidly to overthrow the rising civilization of many countries. It would be ruinous to the happiness of myriads of your people and mine. I dread even to think of such calamities as at all probable. But if you can stand them, we can. Indeed, we must—in self-defence; for

no other war with your country will our people wage, notwithstanding the instigation of some of our newspapers, especially those conducted by some of your former countrymen; but in defence of our national existence, we shall shrink from no calamities. How infinitely better it were, however, for our nations to live in peace with each other! And, if need be, to stand together against the power that threatens the peace and liberty of the world!

I refer to the portentous power of Napoleon III. It is difficult to understand his probable course. He is capable of doing anything that is wrong, but he is not blind to his own interest. What advantage he could gain by taking up the cause of the rebellion, that would for a moment counter-balance the various dangers of such a course, and the immense debt which he must incur in a fruitless war with this country, I am at a loss to conceive. Indeed, I seriously think that his purposes of foreign aggression have their object much nearer home. I have for years believed that his greatest purpose is the invasion of England. Let him hold London as a military post, and he will have reached the highest pinnacle of fame. Compared with this, what would be the *chât* of protecting a few Creole Frenchmen in New Orleans? Your country does well, my dear friend, to be on its guard against the designs of this dangerous, bad man. As for us, we are 3,000 miles distant. This may not perhaps save us from the curse of his reckless ambition, but with our large military force and resources, and with the blessing of Providence, it will enable us to take good care of all the ships and men he may send across the Atlantic against us. Few of them would ever return. Indeed I cannot believe that even Napoleon III. will consider it safe or prudent "to mix himself up" with a conflict in which he can reap little gain and less glory, coupled with infinite loss and dishonor.

With exhausted strength at home, with lessening sympathy in the Northern States, with little hope of help from France, what remains for the Confederates? My answer is, the speedy end of their rebellion. And my prayer is that it may

be brought to an end before the people of the Free States become inflamed by a spirit of revenge. Thus far no such feeling commonly exists amongst us. Were the rebellion now ended, gladly would our people pour forth their treasures to relieve the great distress prevailing in the southern part of the country.

The rebellion ended, its leaders will withdraw from public life: some of them will emigrate to other countries. Its honest but deluded adherents will be glad to find themselves enjoying peace again in the Union. Slavery will cease to be a controlling power in our national councils. The anti-slavery feeling of the country, in the North and South alike, will be deepened and chastened. Industrial and moral causes will resume their peaceful sway, tending more and more to the freedom of the slaves, and to the best treatment of the negroes when free. And our citizens will have learned lessons of wisdom from the calamities of these dark days, such as by God's blessing will make them a better people, less self-confident, and more than ever fitted for the high trust of self-government.

With this hope, I close this long letter, only adding the sincere regards with which I am,

Yours, very truly,

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